THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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SHOP COMMITTEES IN RUSSIA.

BY JOHN REED.

The history of labour organisation in Russia is very brief. Before the 1905 Revolution no labour unions, in the strict sense of the word, existed. The only recognised workmen's representation was the election of a starosta, or "elder," much as the starostas are elected in Russian villages, and even in Russian prisons, and with about as much power. In 1905, some 200,000 workmen joined the unions. Stolypin suppressed them. Some little unions persisted, but they were finally crushed, their funds [illegible], their leaders sent to Siberia. After that the unions existed half-secretly, with a membership over all Russia of about 10,000 During the war, however, all attempts at labour organisation were ruthlessly stamped out, and workmen discovered in any connection with labour organisations were sent to the front.

TRADE UNIONS.

The Revolution released the workers partly from this bondage, and pushed toward rapid organisation. After four months of the Revolution the first conference of the trade unions of All-Russia was held—200 delegates representing more than 1,400,000 workers. Two months later the membership was calculated at more than 3,000,000, according to the report of Riazonov; it is now more than double that number.

Now these trade unions (*Professionalnye Soyuse*) were industrial unions, big unions, which merged all the petty craft divisions into one organisation. Thus in the Government gun-factory at Sestroretzk, for example, all those who worked upon the manufacture of rifles—the men who forged barrels, the machinists who fitted the mechanism, the carpenters who made the stocks—were all members of the Metal Workers' Union.

The trade unions performed an important task. Modelled on a plan which combined the best features of the French and German trade unions, they reached vast numbers of workers and brought them together. But, like trade union movements everywhere, they were mainly concerned with the fight for shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions. They embraced the trade union philosophy, which leads to "agreements" and "contracts" with the employers—to the partnership of Capital and Labour. They established, for example, a system of Arbitration Commissions under Government supervision.

WHY SHOP COMMITTEES WERE FORMED.

And just as in this country the mass of the workers are discontented with the reactionary and insufficient policy of the A. F. of L.—just as the policy of merely raising wages and improving conditions doesn't lead anywhere—so in Russia labour wasn't satisfied. The Russian workers in the factories *wanted to control industry*. They wanted to control their jobs in the shops. Hampered by "agreements" and Arbitration Commissions supported by their union officials, the workers could not act. Therefore in the shops there grew up those unique organisations, created by the Revolution itself, the Factory Shop Committees (*Fabritchno-Zavodskye Komitieti*). These latter are the real foundation of workers' control of industry.

The factory committees originated in the Government munition factories. At the outbreak of the Revolution, most of the administrators of the Government factories, chiefly military officers who brutalised the workers with all the privilege of military law, ran away. Unlike the private manufacturers, these Government officials had no interest in the business. The workers, in order to prevent the closing down of the factory, had to take charge of the administration. In some places, as at Sestroretzk, this meant taking charge of the town also. And these Government plants were run with such inefficiency, so much corruption, that the Workers' Committee, although it raised wages, shortened hours, and hired more hands, actually increased production and lowered expenses—at the same time completing new buildings begun by dishonest contractors, constructing a fine new hospital, and giving the town its first sewerage system. With these Government plants the Factory Shop Committees had a comparatively easy time. For a long time after the Revolution there was no authority to question the authority of the workers, and finally when the Kerensky Government began to interfere, the workers had complete control. Working as they were on munitions, with standing orders, there was no excuse for closing down, and in fuel and raw material the Government itself supplied them. Although many times under the inefficient Kerensky Government the Government shops committees had to send their delegates to Baku to buy oil, to Kharkov for coal, and to Siberia for iron.

SHOP COMMITTEES AT WORK.

From Sestroretzk the Shop Committee spread like wild-fire to other Government shops—then to private establishments working on Government orders, then to private industries, and finally to the factories which were closed down at the beginning of the Revolution. First the movement was confined to Petrograd, but soon it began to spread over all Russia, and just before the November Revolution took place the first All-Russian Congress of Factory Shop Committees. At the present time, represents-

(Continued on next page)

How Italy sees the Situation.—"The Portfolio of the War Minister and the Portfolio of the War Widow."

THE "ANARCHIST CONSPIRACY."

STRIKERS AND FELLOW-WORKERS—

The Government choses to call this Strike the result of an "Anarchist Conspiracy." As Trade Unionists you will know better. You will laugh at the official language of the Government.

But the Government will, none the less, use this excuse to crush you.

What is an "Anarchist Conspiracy"?

By these words the Government means any move that will free the workers from the tyranny of the politicians who call themselves the State. The Government means a strike that is for something better than a standardisation of wages.

Is this true?

Are you on strike merely for a rise in wages or to make this a land fit for heroes to live in?

You will remember all the fine promises the Government made at the last General Election. New houses, new conditions, a new heaven and a new earth.

Now that you are making a move to get your wages nearer the new heaven, the Government calls it an "Anarchist Conspiracy"!

Are you going to let the politicians build your new country out of fine words, or are you going to take a hand in it yourselves?

If this isn't your country, whose is it?.

The Government is wasting millions on adventures in Russia, but it cannot find you a penny towards standardisation of wages.

The Government found five million pounds a day to run a war to capture German trade—for the capitalists. The same Government cannot find twenty millions for you!

The Government cannot find money to build houses, it cannot find bricks, it cannot find labour.

And yet the country is swarming with unemployed!

The Government means to crush this strike. The daily press says "THE STRIKE WILL FAIL!"

The press is against you. The pulpit is against you. The public is being urged to volunteer as blacklegs to fight you. The Government is looking after the interests of the railway directors and shareholders, whose dividends are guaranteed, whatever happens.

The same happens in ANY strike. The press, the pulpit, the politicians are against the workers.

The workers won't need to look far to find their friends—in their own ranks.

You do not need to be told that the soldiers, sailors, airmen, police are all of the working class. It is to your interest to see that they don't fight against you.

Remember the words of the politician who now calls you "Anarchist conspirators"—

"BE BOLD!"

[The above Manifesto has been received from London Anarchists in reply to the accusation that the present strike is an "Anarchist conspiracy."]

tives of the Factory Shop Committees and representatives of the unions make up the Department of Labour of the new Government, and compose the Council of Workers' Control.

The first committees in the private factories were mainly engaged in keeping the industry going, in the face of lack of coal, of raw materials, and especially, the sabotage of the owners and the administrative force, who wanted to shut down. It was a question of life and death to the workers. The newly formed Shop Committees were forced to find out how many orders the factory had, how much fuel and raw materials were on hand, what was the income from the business—in order to determine the wages that could be paid—and to control itself the discipline of the workers, and the hiring and discharging of men. In factories which the owners insisted could not keep open, the workers were forced to take charge themselves, and run the business as well as they could.

Some of the experiments were very interesting. For example, there was a cotton factory in Novgorod which was abandoned by its owners. The workers—inexperienced in administration—took charge. The first thing they did was to manufacture enough cloth for their own needs, and then for the needs of the other workers in Novgorod. After that the Shop Committee sent men out to factories in other cities, offering to exchange cotton cloth for other articles they needed—shoes, implements; they exchanged cloth for bread with the peasants; and finally they began to take orders from commercial houses. For their raw material they had to send men to the south to the cotton-growing country, and then with the Railroad Workers' Union they had to pay with cloth for the transportation of the cotton. So with fuel from the coal mines of the Don.

In the great private industries which remained open, the Factory Shop Committees appointed delegates to confer with the administration about getting fuel, raw material, and even orders. They had to keep account of all that came into the factory, and all that went out. They made a valuation of the entire plant, so as to find out how much the factory was worth, how much stock was held, what the profits were. Everywhere the workers' greatest difficulty was with the owners, who concealed profits, refused orders, and tried in every way to destroy the efficiency of the plant, so as to discredit the workers' organisations. All counter-revolutionary or anti-democratic engineers, clerks, foremen, etc., were discharged by the Factory Shop Committees, nor could they enter any other factory without the recommendation of the Factory Shop Committee of their preceding place of employment. Workers were required to join the union before they were hired, and the Factory Shop Committee supervised the carrying out of all union scales and regulations.

The Fight Against the Committees.

The fight by the capitalists against these Factory Shop Committees was extremely bitter. Their work was hindered at every step. The most extravagant lies have been published in the capitalist press about "lazy workmen" who spent all their time in talking when they should be working—while as a matter of fact the Factory Shop Committees usually had to work eighteen hours a day; about the enormous size of the Committees—while, for example, at Putilov Works, the largest factory in Petrograd, enploying about 40,000 men, the Central Factory Shop Committee, representing eleven departments and 46 shops, consisted of twenty-two men. Even Skobelev, "Socialist" Minister of Labour under the Kerensky Government, issued an order in the first part of September that the Factory Shop Committees should only meet "after working hours," and no longer receive wages for their time on Committee business. As a matter of fact, the Factory Shop Committees were all that kept Russian industry from complete disintegration during the days of the Kerensky Government.

Thus the new Russian industrial order was born of necessity.

Each Factory Shop Committee had five departments: Production and distribution, Fuel, Raw Materials, Technical Organisation of the Industry, and Demobilisation (or changing from a war to a peace basis). In each district, all the factories of one industry combined to send two delegates to a district council, and each district council sent one delegates to the city council—which in turn had its delegates in the All-Russian Council, in the Central Committee of the Trade Unions, and in the Soviet.

Not all workmen were union workmen in Russia; but every factory worker had to be represented in the Factory Shop Committee. And the Shop Committee forced its members to join their unions.

To-day the unions stabilise wages and conditions throughout each industry, and these union regulations are put into effect by the Shop Committees in each shop. The union determines the scale and the hours of labour; the Shop Committees control production in the factories, requisition fuel and raw material, and arrange with the railway workers and the co-operatives for distribution. But equally important, *the Shop Committees, who control the shops, and are the direct representatives of the workers on the job, are able to check up the actions of the trade unions, and to control the trade union officials.*

The entire economic life of Soviet Russia is now managed by the Supreme Council of Public Economy, which is made up of representatives of the trade unions, the Factory Shop Committees, the peasants' Land Committees, and the organisations of technical experts—such as engineers, chemists, etc.

As all industry is the property of the Soviet Government, in which only workers can vote, Russian labour is supreme.

[*The Voice of Labour*, New York.]

CONFERENCE OF LONDON WORKERS.

On September 27th, the London Workers' Committee held a conference in the Memorial Hall, Walter Ponder presiding in the absence of Tom Mann who, owing to the railwaymen's strike arrived later. The purpose of the conference was to find out what strength there was in the movement in London and to discuss the best means of forming a real live Workers' Committee.

The Secretary of the Organisers' Committee gave his report, pointing out the difficulties of organising in the London district owing to the distances and the unsympathetic attitude of the trade unions to the Workers' Committee movement. A letter was read from the Plymouth A.S.E. Shop Stewards who are advocating the movement in the printing trade, where already industrial committees are in existence.

Many trades were represented, including the railwaymen, printers, vehicle workers, woodworkers, builders and aircraft workers, and engineers.

Byrnes (S.S. and A.U.) moved, and Driver, Enfield Works' Committee, seconded the first resolution: "That this conference resolves that the time is now opportune for the formation of a central committee to co-ordinate the activities of the local committees in the London district." This was carried unanimously.

"That the representation on the central committee should be by delegates from local committees on a basis of proportional representation." This resolution was carried unanimously after some discussion.

"That the London district be divided into four areas, approximating to north, south, east and west, and that outlying districts form their committees according to the easiest lines of communication, as also other self-autonomous industrial bodies."

There was a heated discussion on this resolution, due to a certain amount of misinterpretation put upon it, but eventually it was carried *nem. con.*

"The basis of provisional members be elected on the basis of two from each committee" was moved by Keeting, West L.W.C., and carried unanimously after a lengthy discussion.

"Affiliation to the National Administrative Committee." Arthur McManus, in a forceful speech, explained the need of co-operation in the movement if it is to be a real power in the crisis which has come and which may develop into the overthrowing of the capitalist system, and the taking of control by the workers. He explained the difficulties of the central committee, not only from lack of financial support, but also through the difficulty of getting in touch with the various local committees through lack of co-ordination. He pointed out that it might be necessary to organise a Strike Committee in London if the strike should spread to other industries, for unless the workers are organised and have the machinery ready they will not be able to take control. It was carried unanimously that the L.W.C. affiliate to the N.A.C.

Election of Committee. It was agreed to elect a Provisional Committee of seven, and the following were elected: Todd (printers), Ramsay (N.A.C.), Walsh (building and aircraft), Tanner (W.L.W.C.), Kime (W.L.W.C.), Day and Parry (River Thames Shop Stewards' Committee). The election of officers and the setting up of an office to be left to the Provisional Committee.

Appointment of Organisers. J. T. Murphy gave a report of what was being done in Sheffield, and Arthur McManus of the way in which organisers on the Clyde raised money for their salaries and other work by collections at meetings.

Tom Mann spoke on the need for organisers, and the important work there is to be done, especially with regard to the workers taking control of the food supply and its distribution. He urged the workers to identify themselves with the Co-operative Societies, as it was laregly through them that they would be able to undertake this work.

The West London Committee moved that an organiser be appointed at a salary of £5 a week, this being the average wage in the engineering trade. This was agreed to, and David Ramsay was elected as organiser.

It was agreed that *Solidarity* be the organ of the London Workers' Committee, its columns to be open to reports of the work of the Shop Stewards.

It was also agreed that a National Conference be called at an early date.

Resolutions were passed expressing sympathy with the railwaymen and promising them support; and of protest against the militarisation of the police and the Police Act, demanding the withdrawal of the Act and the reinstatement of the men who had been dismissed. A further protest was made against the treatment of the I.W.W. and the imprisonment of its members in the United States. It was agreed that the Provisional Committee study the I.W.W. constitution with a view to linking up in an International movement.

The atmosphere of the conference was electric, caused by the strike of the railwaymen, and one felt that the delegates meant business and were getting to grips with the work in hand.

WHO WAS THE CRIMINAL?

Ellen Breaton, a machinist, was charged at the Clerkenwell Police-court with converting 17 blouses, value £10, to her own use. The proescutor, W. H. Schwartzman, said he had entrusted the prisoner with material to make 20 blouses, which she had not delivered. The police had found three at her house and 17 were missing. In reply to the magistrate, prosecutor said the accused received 11s. 8d. for making the 20 blouses, and she had to supply her own cotton. Prisoner was remanded, the police opposing bail. The employer, however, goes scot free.

D.O.R.A. STILL ACTIVE.

At the Havant Petty Sessions Mr. Edward Clarges, a dockyard employee, was charged under D.O.R.A. for "committing an act calculated to cause disaffection among the civil population." He was convicted and fined £10. A second charge of being in possession of a "pernicious and dangerous" leaflet was adjourned *sine die*.

Contributions towards this fine should be sent to Miss N. L. Smyth, 400, Old Ford-road, London, E.3.

ENGLISH POLICY IN NORTH RUSSIA.

Avanti, September 7th. — A Swedish journalist writes that the Allied force in North Russia consists of English, French, Italian, American, Serbian and Russian troops, but the whole is under the command of the English—the party most interested in the Russian venture. The English, according to the Swede, aim at establishing an "autonomous" English colony in North Russia, and already all native civil officials are paid by the English. The officers are, indeed, monopolizing the commerce of North Russia: while the neighbouring fishermen of Norway are forbidden to sell their fish to the population, the English sell theirs from the Scottish coast at a high price. In return for the expense incurred, the English get a great quantity of raw material. Such is the economic tyranny of modern militarism.

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COMMUNISM IN AMERICA.

As a result of the various splits in the Socialist movement in America the news that the Left Wing has finally broken with the Socialist Party is not surprising. A Communist Labour Party has been formed with the object of organising the "workers as a class." Since the term "Socialist" has been internationally discredited, the executive of the newly-formed party has discarded it in favour of "Communist" What puzzles one however as to the advisability of the formation of this new party is the fact that a "Communist Party" was also formed at the same time, and also in Chicago. The official report bears witness that many efforts were made by the Left Wing Socialists to unite with the Communist Party at their conference but without avail. Not having both sides of the question at hand, comment now may mean rash judgment. Yet splits are always to be deplored when they arise between bodies professing to advocate the same policy. This is what John Reed, who has seen Communism in Russia and has written so well about it, says on the subject of the two parties :—

"There has been formed in Chicago—by a split of the revolutionary elements in the Socialist Party of America away from the moderate reformist group—a Communist Labour Party of America At the same time there was formed a Communist Party which was the result of an artificial grouping of foreign-born workers which formerly constituted the Foreign Language Federations of the Socialist Party, and who attempted in this new organisation of theirs, to create a foreign working-class movement in the United States expressed in terms of the European movement organized along the lines of the Bolshevik Party in Russia (without any attempt to adapt it to the psychology of the American working-class) and ruled by the autocratic central committee of these foreign groups and by a few petit-bourgeois intellectuals who know nothing and care less about the American working-class and who have not amongst them a single man who can speak in simple language who can be understood by the workers in this country. This dual organisation, which is most unfortunate, was due to the ambitions of certain people who wish above everything to go down in history as having founded a Communist Party.

"The Communist Labour Party on the other hand is the natural growth from the old Socialist Party and represents what revolutionary forces there are in the Socialist movement of the United States—the Socialist Party now having become Liberal, rejecting the Third International and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat entirely.

"The rank and file of the foreign-speaking workers in this country are the finest possible material and are of course necessaay above all in the creation of a revolutionary workingclass movement here, because they are much more advanced than the American workers, as a rule, but their "leaders" have kept them segregated from the Americans; their affairs are conducted in their own language, and they are lured by the name "Communist" to go by themselves and form their Party which also consists of English-speaking elements who hold the the theories of Plekhanoff and oppose mass action.

"The rank and file of the country, however which is soundly revolutionary, is insisting upon unity of all the revolutionary elements in one party. This will undoubtedly be accomplished sooner or later, but the basis upon which it will be accomplished is indicated by the fact that the large majority of the foreign-speaking branches have begun to repudiate their leadership and come to us.

"We present our programme and platform to you, and beg you to notice their adaptation to American conditions of labour organisation politics.

"There is no doubt in our minds that we Communists will soon be driven out of the political field entirely; indeed that has already been done in many cities, where the authorities have forbidden the right to speak in public to members of our party."

From this statement of John Reed it would seem that no very deep cleft divides the two new parties. The programme of the C.L.P. declares itself in "complete accord" with the principles of Communism, as laid down in the Manifesto of the Third International formed at Moscow. Space does not permit the full reproduction of all the clauses here. The Platform, however, shows the whole end and aim of the party:—

PLATFORM.

"The Communist Labour Party of America declares itself in full harmony with the revolutionary working class parties of all countries, and stands by the principles laid down by the Third International formed at Moscow.

With them it thoroughly appreciates the complete development of capitalism into its present form of Capitalist Imperialism, with its dictatorship of the capitalist class and its absolute suppression of the working class.

With them it also fully realizes the crying need for an immediate change in the social system; it realizes that the time for parleying and compromise has passed; and that now it is only the question whether all power remains in the hands of the capitalists, or is taken by the working class.

The Communist Labour Party proposes the organisation of the workers' class, the overthrow of capitalist rule, and the conquest of political power by the workers. The workers organized as the ruling class, shall, through their government, make and enforce the laws; they shall own and control land, the factories, mills, mines, transportation systems and financial institutions. All power to the workers!

The Communist Labour Party has as its ultimate aim: The overthrow of the present system of production, in which the working class is mercilessly exploited, and the creation of an industrial republic wherein the machinery of production shall be socialized so as to guarantee to the workers the full social value of their toil.

To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labour Party for the conquest of political power, to establish a government adapted to the Communist transformation."

Despite John Reed's appeal to remember that the C.L.P. is something peculiarly adapted to the needs of America, some of the recommendations might well be studied in this country, especially just now with the revival of the London Workers' Committee, a movement which possesses a certain similarity in ultimate results to be attained.

The Labour Organisation recommendations are as follows:—

1. That all Locals and Branches shall elect Committees on Labour Organization, composed so far as possible of members of Labour organizations, whose functions shall be :

(a) To initiate, or support the creation of, Shop Committees in every industry in their district, the uniting of these Committees in Industrial Councils, District Councils, and the Central Councils of all Industries.

(b) To propagandise and assist in the combining of Craft Unions, by industries, in One Big Union.

(c) To bring together in the centres of Party activity—Locals Branches — delegates from factories and shops, to discuss tactics and policies of conducting the class struggle.

(d) To propagate directly among the workers on the job the principles of Communism, and educate them to a realization of their class position.

(e) To find a common basis for the uniting of all existing economic and political organizations based on the class struggle.

(f) To mobilize all members who can serve as organizers, to fill the demand for men and women who can organize bodies of workers along the lines indicated above.

(g) To direct the activities of local Party organizations in assisting the workers wholeheartedly in their industrial battles, and making use of these battles as opportunities for educating the workers.

2. That a National Committee on Labour Organization be elected by this Convention, which shall co-operate with the local Committees above mentioned. In addition, the National Labour Committee shall be charged with the task of mobilizing national support for strikes of national importance, and shall endeavour to give these a political character.

3. It shall collect information concerning the revolutionary movement from the different sections of the country, and from other countries, and through a Press Service of Labour and Socialist papers, shall spread this information to all parts of the country.

(b) It shall mobilize on a national scale all members who can serve as propagandists and organizers, who can not only teach, but actually help to put into practice, the principles of revolutionary industrial unionism and Communism.

America, from these various statements evidently does not mean to stand alone; the existence of Europe is recognised, though from the report of the Convention the delegates rather over-estimate the degree of working-class organisation in Europe. However, its international intentions are best summed up in their own words:—

"The Communist Labour Party of America declares its purpose of organising the workers for the conquest of the State for their class can only be accomplished in unity with such national parts of the international Labour movement as have never lost sight of, or ever betrayed, the great historical struggle for Communism against Capitalism.

"It further declares that such unity must be one of principle and action, rather than one of organisation only. . . . .

"We pledge ourselves to work upon the lines and according to the programme determined upon by the first Congress of the Third International, and hereby instruct our Executive Committee immediately to take steps for the affiliation of the Communist Labour Party of America with the Third International."

The further developments and progress of the C.L.P. and the Communist Party in America cannot fail to interest the workers of this country. Let Communism prevail!

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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LENIN.

The Future of the Soviet.

Colonel Raymond Robins arrived in Petrograd with the American Red Cross Mission on August 7th, 1917. His impressions during his sojourn in Russia are recorded by William Hard in the "Metropolitan."

Although an anti-Bolshevik, Colonel Robins was a constant visitor at Smolny and maintains that he interviewed Lenin on an average three times a week. The American Ambassador used him as an "unofficial" representative, but any suggestions Robins made to induce the American Government to recognise the Bolsheviki were usually met with the argument that Lenin and Trotsky could not last a day!

The interview here reproduced from the "Metropolitan" between Colonel Robins and Lenin is full of interest for us at a time when newspaper reports shriek the tale of Lenin's assassination. Here in his own words we can read what Lenin thinks of the Bolshevik system apart from its leaders.

"The flame of the Socialist Revolution may die down here. But we will keep it at its height till it spreads to countries more developed. The most developed country is Germany. When you see a Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Deputies at Berlin, you will know that the proletarian world-revolution is born. . . . .

"We may be overthrown in Russia, by the backwardness of Russia, or by foreign force, but the IDEA in the Russian Revolution will break and wreck every POLITICAL social control in the world. Our method of social control dominates the future. POLITICAL social control will die. The Russian Revolution will kill it—everywhere."

"But," said Robins, "my Government is a democratic government. Do you really say that the idea in the Russian Revolution will destroy the democratic idea in the Government of the United States?"

"The American Government," said Lenin, "is corrupt."

"That is simply not so," said Robins. "Our national Government and our local governments are elected by the people, and most of the elections are honest and fair, and the men elected are the true choices of the voters. You cannot call the American Government a bought Government."

"Oh, Colonel Robins," said Lenin, "you do not understand. It is my fault. I ought not to have said corrupt. I do not mean that your Government is corrupt in money. I mean that it is corrupt and decayed in thought. It is living in the POLITICAL thinking of a bygone POLITICAL age. . . . . It is inefficient. It is insincere. It refuses to admit the fact that the real control is no longer POLITICAL. That is why I say that your system is lacking in integrity. That is why our system is superior. That is why it will destroy yours."

"Frankly, Mr. Commissioner," said Robins, "I don't believe it will."

"It will," said Lenin. "Do you know what ours is?"

"Not very well yet," said Robins. "You've just started."

"I'll tell you," said Lenin. "Our system will destroy yours because it will consist of a social control which recognises the basic fact of modern life. It recognises the fact that real power to-day is ECONOMIC, and that the social control of to-day must be ECONOMIC also. So what do we do? Who will be our representatives in our national legislature, in our national Soviet, from the district of Baku, for instance?

"The district of Baku is oil. Oil makes Baku. Oil rules Baku. Our representatives from Baku will be elected by the oil industry. They will be elected by the workers in the oil industry. You say: Who are workers? I say: The men who manage and the men who obey the orders of managers—the superintendents, the engineers, the artisans, the manual labourers—all the persons who are actually engaged in the actual work of production, by brain or hand—they are workers. Persons not so engaged—persons who are not at labour in the oil industry but who try to live off it without labour, by speculation, by royalties, by investment unaccompanied by any work of management or by any work of daily toil—they are not workers. They may know something about oil, or they may not. Usually they do not. In any case, they are not engaged in the actual producing of oil. Our republic is a PRODUCERS' republic.

"You will say that your republic is a CITIZENS' republic. Very well. I say that man as producer is more important than man as citizen. The most important citizens in your oil districts—who are they? Are they not oil men? We will represent Baku as oil.

"Similarly we will represent the Donetz coal basin as coal. The representatives from the Donetz basin will be representatives of the coal industry. Again, from the country districts, our representatives will be representatives chosen by peasants who grow crops. What is the real interest of the country districts? It is not store-keeping. It is not money-lending. It is agriculture. From our country districts our Soviets of peasants will send representatives chosen by agriculture to speak for agriculture.

"This system is stronger than yours because it admits reality. It seeks out the sources of daily work-value and, out of those sources, directly, it creates the social control of the the State. Our Government will be an ECONOMIC social control for an ECONOMIC age. It will triumph because it speaks the spirit, and releases and uses the spirit, of the age that now is.

"Therefore, Colonel Robins, we look with confidence at the future. You may destroy the Russian Revolotion in Russia. You may overthrow me. It will make no difference. A hundred years ago the monarchies of Britain, Prussia, Austria, Russia, overthrew the Government of Revolutionary France. They restored a monarch, who was called a legitimate monarch, to power in Paris. But they could not stop, and did not stop, the middle-class POLITICAL revolution, the revolution of middle-class DEMOCRACY, which had been started at Paris by the men of the French Revolution of 1789. They could not save feudalism.

"Every system of FEUDAL ARISTOCRATIC social control in Europe was destined to be destroyed by the POLITICAL DEMOCRATIC social control worked out by the French Revolution. Every system of POLITICAL DEMOCRATIC control in the world to-day is destined now to be destroyed by the ECONOMIC PRODUCERS' social control worked out by the Russian Revolution.

"Colonel Robins, you do not believe it. I have to wait for events to convince you. You may see foreign bayonets parading across Russia. You may see the Soviets, and all the leaders of the Soviets, killed. You may see Russia dark again as it was dark before. But the lightning out of that darkness has destroyed political democracy everywhere. It has destroyed it not by physically striking it but simply by one flash of revealment of the future."

IRELAND'S ONE BIG UNION.

The annual report of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union records a wonderful advance. Apparently crushed in 1914, the union, in April, 1916, had debts amounting to £3,000, £96 in the bank, ten branches and 5,000 members. At the end of 1918 the union had 67,827 members and 210 branches. The debts had been almost wiped out, £11,299 3s. 4d. was in its banking account; Liberty Hall, its headquarters, had been rebuilt and refurnished, and the entire block of buildings, of which it forms part. The total assets of the union amounted to £18,982 13s. 7d., its debts to only £1,053, 5s. 8d.

Though it is usually called the Transport Workers' Union, transport workers are in a minority in Ireland's one big union, as is shown by the following analysis of its members made on June 30th, 1918:—

TRANSPORT, including Docks, Railways, Tramways, Canals, Carters and Porters	7,059
FUEL, Coal and Turf workers	1,694
FOOD, including Agriculture (9,634), Creameries, Eggs and Poultry, Bacon Factories, Butchers, Bakers, Corn and Flour Mills, Groceries, Hotels, Breweries	16,888
INDUSTRIES, including Building Trade, Timber Mills, Brickyards, Textile Mills, Woollen Mills, Laundries, Munitions, Gas, Chemicals and General Labourers	15,339
PUBLIC SERVICES and others, including Public Board employees, Theatres, Clerks, Shop Assistants and Trade Agents	2,808
Total membership	43,788

LABOUR IN JAPAN.

Scott Nearing, of the Rand School of Social Science, New York, quotes from a publication of the U.S.A. Federal Department of Labour, a report on Japanese Labour conditions. The following figures are given on child labour in factories in 1916:—

Boys under 12 years employed in factories	1,20[illegible]
Girls under 12 years employed in factories	5,57[illegible]
Boys between 12 and 15 years employed in factories	19,564
Girls between 12 and 15 years employed in factories	87,70[illegible]
Total boys and girls of 15 and under employed in factories	114,047

Women and girls work 13 to 14 hours a day in raw silk factories, and 15 to 16 hours a day in weaving sheds. 70 per cent. are housed in factory quarters. The report states: "The health of these young women is seriously injured by such conditions. . . . None can stand the strain for more than a year." 200,000 new women workers are recruited annually. "Of these 120,000 do not return to the parental roof. Either they become birds of passage and move from one factory to another, or go as maids in dubious tea-houses, or as illicit prostitutes. Among the 80,000 women who return to their homes, something like 18,000 are found to be sick, about 25 per cent. having contracted consumption." The death rate among the returning operatives is reported as 30 per thousand.

Japan is one of the parties to the League of Nations Labour Charter, but Japanese Capitalism has secured that its provisions shall not apply to Japan.

Contrast Japan under Capitalism with Russia under the Soviets!

Capitalism and the Counter-Revolution,

By J. T. Walton Newbold, M.A.

PRICE 3d

Published by the

WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

400, OLD FORD ROAD, LONDON, E.3.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

ARCHANGEL "EVACUATED."

The "Times" reports the "complete evacuation" of Archangel, which took place without any "signs of hostility" The population, on the contrary, "are filled with regret." Of course, it all depends on what one calls the "population," but Y.M.C.A. eyewitnesses have told us that early in September an ultimatum was issued by the "population" to the effect that the British and American soldiers must leave by a certain date, otherwise that "population" would not answer for the consequences!

* * * *

Now that a partial evacuation of Russia has been forced on the Allies, the Supreme Council at Paris has decided to ask legal advisers whether a "satisfactory formula" for "a peaceful blockade" of Bolshevik Russia can be found. The great arguments against the Bolshevik régime put forward by those "authorities" which the Government produces from time to time, may be reduced to "shortage of the means of existence through Bolshevik misrule." This new method of blockade therefore will serve to deprive the Allies of their only argument, for as the Bolsheviks are in reality blockaded at present, it is doubtful whether further hardships can be inflicted.

RED CROSS CONFERENCE.

There is a rumour that delegates both from England and the Russian Bolshevik Government will, "Politiken" reports, attend a Red Cross Conference to be held shortly in Copenhagen. The Soviet Government will send four of its most prominent members as delegates, which fact gives rise to the conjecture that possibly some settlement between those two countries may be discussed.

STRIKES AND STRIKE BREAKING.

"A strike against the nation," "a strike against the community," is the cant with which the down-tools policy of the Railwaymen has been met. Above all, *why* must they strike on Friday, September 26th, when they may enjoy their present munificent wage till the end of December next, the Capitalist Press and Government ask with one breath? Never has the time of striking been known to "please," but how much louder would the outcry be had the railwaymen left things to drag on until the midwinter was upon us! Then indignation would have known no bounds; for would not the "poor be left without coal," just as now the supply of milk for "children" is reported to have "greatly decreased." Strike or no strike, that milk supply to *children* of railwaymen and *their* class is being "decreased" by abnormal prices. All the daily Press, with the exception of the *Daily Herald*, have been busy in giving the public a perverted impression of the reason of the strike. In brief, it is for a *principle*, namely, the enginemen and firemen had their wages settled in August, and the other railway workers who are N.U.R. members are now also agitating for the absorption of the war bonus into permanent salary, and the standardisation of wages throughout the country, having £3 as minimum for an adult worker.

The great point at issue, however, is whether £2 is to be considered a suitable minimum for an adult worker. Mr. Lloyd George says it is, the daily Press says so too, and the whole Cabinet acquiesces that a man whose minimum before the war was 18/- or 20/- ought to be satisfied with £2 now. A hundred per cent. sounds a fair rise in wages, no doubt, but since the cost of living shows more than a hundred per cent. increase on pre-war prices, the argument that a £2 minimum is adequate, amounts to saying that the Government of the boasted richest nation, which was never short of money for the war, wants to pay the same disgraceful minimum as that paid by the railway magnates before the war.

The *Daily Telegraph* accuses "wild men" in the N.U.R. of agitating to be paid at rates "which no industry can stand and no social order could provide." How, then, are there so many rich railway magnates? Why does Sir Leo Chiozza Money state, in the columns of the *Daily News* that the Government made railway profits last year to the extent of "£59,000,000, far more than was needed to pay the companies their agreed pre-war rate of profit?" Yet the fallacy that the railways are run at a loss is dinned into the ears of the public until the meek public really feels it to be so.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, in his various utterances both at meetings and to the Press, seems to feel sure that Mr. Lloyd George, *if* left to himself, would save the situation. Do the rank and filers really believe this? Is it possible for a Prime Minister to have his hands so tied as to do the biddings of his "juniors?" If so, why not resign? Let that idea of fastening guilt on individual members of the Cabinet be swept aside, it is one which can only result in the bolstering up of the present system, and splitting the determination of the workers to have done with it. The Carnarvon telegram (which must have cost not a little) should have proved to the simplest-minded that Lloyd George not only does *not* want to climb down; but that he even misinterprets Mr. Thomas' statements!

Who is it that is making all the arrangements for the transference of troops from one area to another, and billeting them at all the public houses? Is that, too, done without Mr. Lloyd George's consent? Then the retinue of blacklegs recruited by playing off one class against another, is that, too, done by one member of the Cabinet? No, the workers will not believe these tales, and the proof of it lies in the fact that the Transport Workers, of all grades and shades, are only waiting to come out in sympathy with the railwaymen. Before these lines appear in print there may even be a complete stoppage of *all* unions—and, if so, who has manœuvred it, and with what intention?

Great are the ways of diplomats and the poor outsiders are not permitted to penetrate their secrets. But when the country is threatened with bankruptcy by the mad extravagance of the war, and since the armistice, can anyone wonder at wanting to find a scapegoat! No better one can be found than the workers, and I for one look forward to learned data on the state of finance in 1918, compared with that of 1919, and the very apparent deductions.

Mr. Thomas "warned" in vain this time: because it was convenient to see what *would* happen if the Government provoked the N.U.R. Executive. That Executive asked for £3 as the minimum, and the Cabinet retorts, "we we can't do that." A Cabinet that no later than August last raised some of their *own* salaries by £3,000 a year and granted fortunes to the great men who "distinguished" themselves in the war. The strike may continue for weeks or months: but one thing is certain, that neither the Executive nor the men can give one iota of a concession without damaging the case of *all* workers. Little by little trade unionists are realising that solidarity amongst unions is the only road to success. The strong unions must fight for the weak. In fact, as Bromley says, trade unionism may stand or fall on the present issue. No one can want it to fall *unless* something more effective is ready to take its place.

M. O. 'C.

SOLIDARITY.

Unconsciously the N.U.R. had done a good day's work for Ireland by stranding Sir Edward Carson at Penrith. He was on his way to conduct the "anti-Home Rule" meetings in Belfast.

Ireland has proved too much for Mr. Macpherson who, we hear, is likely to resign owing to "ill-health."

IRELAND.

Again the Government and its mouthpieces are busy "settling" the case for Ireland. No very effective measures are being taken, judging by a recent Cabinet decision:—

"There will be no immediate change in the personnel of the Irish Executive.

"The existing policy as regards the maintenance of order will not be departed from, but

"The Cabinet are agreed on the necessity of a new and firm effort being made without delay to grapple with Irish policy in the wider sense of a new system of government."

The "Daily Express" tells us that Irish "representative" men will advise a Committee which is working out a new scheme. NO SINN FEINERS ARE TO BE CONSULTED!!

* * * *

"Political events for week ending September 13th: 1,012 raids, 27 arrests, 31 armed assaults by the authorities, 7 proclamations, 2 court martial sentences. The military sacked the town of Fermoy and shot down four men in the streets of Dublin. Dail Eireann, which represents 78 out of 105 constituencies, was suppressed. Mr. Thomas Crofton, a Unionist, was fined 6d. at Carrick-on-Shannon for being in possession of arms without a permit. Sinn Feiners have had two years' imprisonment for the same offence. On the Naas-road, Inchicore, towards midnight, soldiers in charge of a civilian held up men and women passers by and searched them, ordered those who had been searched to run for it, and shot at them as they ran. The police told Press representatives it was merely a "prank."

* * *

A SIGN OF THE TIMES.

President Wilson has been ordered a complete rest, and is to retire to "a secluded spot to recuperate." Evidently the European mix-up, together with American unrest, have something to do with this decision!

STRIKE GEMS.

These few Press cuttings, taken at random, show how well organised the Press is; they point, without doubt, to the systematic poisoning of the mind of the general public against their fellow workers. Are the compositors who print these words members of their union? They will only be imitating the capitalists if they stand by the railwaymen! Government and capitalists speak with *one* voice on the present crisis—there is discordance in the other camp!

"I am convinced that the vast majority of the trade unionists of the land are opposed to this anarchist conspiracy."—The Prime Minister.

* * *

"Mr. Lloyd George labelled the Labour leaders Bolsheviks . . . and because they were loyal to their craft, their principles and their organisation, he had labelled them 'Anarchists!' If that statement was true, then God help this country."—J. H. Thomas at the Albert Hall.

* * *

"If the majority gives way now it abdicates. It hands the civil Government over to an organised section and to a quasi-military power based on physical control of a vital process in national life."—*The Observer.*

* * *

"The people will not submit to tyranny. They never have and never will."—*Daily Express.*

* * *

"We expect them (the public) to take this conflict in the same way (as the war), because they are the same people filled with the same spirit, and are defending themselves now, as then, against an attack *inspired by greed, ambition and lust of power*" (Italics are ours).—*The Times.*

* * *

"Like the war with Germany, it must be fought to a finish."—*The Times.*

* * *

"What the men behind the movement aim at is the control of industry."—*The Times.*

* * *

"We should in future (should the strikers get their demands) have to do whatever this junta of unknown and irresponsible men called an Executive Committee choose to order."—*The Times.*

* * *

"The leaders of the men have chosen to throw the whole country, at the time when it is struggling forward to recover its lost trade, into this frightful conflict."—The Prime Minister.

* * *

"Whatever we lay down with regard to the railwaymen, you may depend upon it, is going to be claimed throughout the country. Therefore we have to consider the cases of all other trades."—Official Report.

* * *

Mr. J. H. Thomas stated at Tower Hill on Sept. 30th that hitherto he did not favour other unions joining the strike; but *now* he does!

THE GERMAN COMMUNISTS.

FACTS AND DOCUMENTS.

Report on the German revolutionary movement received by *Le Phare* from the Executive of the German Communist Party (Sparticists).

A. Organisation.

Martial law makes our organising work extremely difficult. We are outside the law, and martial law, which is directed exclusively against our Party, is in existence in almost all parts of Germany. Thousands of our comrades are in prison. We are nearly all compelled to live like conspirators. Yet in spite of everything the organisation grows. The number of branches has increased wonderfully, and we have grouped them into districts throughout Germany. The greatest difficulty is to find capable district secretaries: for we must give them as much autonomy as we can, so that any mishap to the central organisation may affect the whole organisation as little as possible. Most of our newspapers, too, are under a ban. Where they may appear the censor renders them useless, so that we are obliged to issue papers secretly in Berlin and elsewhere. For the future we shall continue to publish the scientific review, *The International*, and shall issue a "Correspondence of the Party" and a special correspondence for the Communist Workers' Councils. The greatest obstacle to our literary activities is the printing difficulty. Noske's guards are not content with seizing all communist writings which they may come across—secret or not—but they break up our printing presses. This naturally makes the printers shy of doing our work.

Further, we try to influence those of the workers who have only been lightly touched by the revolution and on whom the effects of co-operative life are just dawning. We have started a special agitation among the railwaymen and the disabled soldiers, and intend to do the same among the farm labourers and the small peasants. We shall especially develop this latter branch of our activity, for the organic structure is already prepared, and we propose shortly to issue a newspaper. We shall proclaim our agrarian programme incessantly.

Our political organisation develops most rapidly where the Majority Socialists are in power, and many of their members come straight into our Party without joining the intermediate Independent Party. All we want now is three or four tranquil months to complete our organisation. Shall we have this period of power? It certainly does not depend upon us.

B. Political.

The events at Munich are quite outside our policy, which tries to avoid all sectional movements. When our Munich comrades asked our advice, we forbade this point of view and even sent one of our members to urge them not to take part in any sectional action. Nevertheless, we understand that it may have been forced upon them. During the first days of the Republic of the Councils of Munich, when the Independent and Majority Socialists proclaimed the "Republic of the Councils," our comrades in Munich refused to join them, and greeted this comedy with jeers. This Republic of the Councils was thus destined to die its beautiful death, when, on the night of May 11th and 12th, the Hoffmann Government overthrew it by force of arms. This event roused the Munich workers, who were armed to fight against a military dictatorship. Thus, in trying to defend the so-called Republic of the Councils, our Communist friends took part in the action which led to our severing connection. In our opinion our Munich comrades were doubly deceived; firstly, because they allowed themselves to be led into defending this caricature of a Republic of the Councils, at which they jeered at first, and whose disappearance under such circumstances was most desirable. Then, we believe that our Munich comrades committed a second mistake when they, quite unnecessarily, allowed this act of defence to be transformed into an offensive, that they were not content with preventing the *coup de main*, but that they passed to the dictatorship of the Councils without giving a thought to the rest of the country. You know what followed.

In the rest of Germany the situation is as follows:—

The revolutionary movement develops chiefly in the ranks of the organised workers and those interested in politics. Below this category is to be traced a movement which contributes to the downfall of the Majority contrary to our anticipation, which gave a longer life to them than to the Independents.

In the working class there is a strong resentment against the Majoritarians, thanks to the Noske Government and against the counter-revolution, which daily becomes more brutal, against the shootings, the interdictions, and the suppression of newspapers. If up to now the Party appears to have resisted, it is thanks to the promises which have been made to the workers. The masses, deceived in their hopes, will give free rein to their discontent. We often find whole branches of the Independents joining our ranks, but their political maturity often leaves much to be desired. However, as we have said, political development is only felt by the more advanced workers and the great mass of people is in a state of apathy. The next crisis will once more shake this mass which will occupy the place which this advance guard is preparing for it. It is not possible to say with certainty; the Peace negotiations may provoke it. If the Peace Treaty is not signed it will begin in a few weeks; if it is signed the crisis will come when the effects of the Treaty are felt.

From all that we have said it remains that the time is not ripe to launch a movement. The signature of the Peace Treaty will not remove the crisis, it will only retard it; whereas the refusal will accelerate it. But it is only when this crisis will have reached its summit that the workers will be in a position to establish the Councils of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on a solid basis. Any premature movement will play the game of the bourgeoisie.

We are in close accord with the comrades who played an active role in Russia. They say that nothing can be more dangerous for the Soviet Republic than a repetition of the affair at Munich. Such experiences deeply shake the faith for the future Soviet system in Western Europe and strengthen the counter-revolution in Russia. Therefore these unfortunate attempts become a danger, not only to the revolutionary movement in the country where they occur, but to the entire International.

Since the Revolution of November, 1918, 15,000 workers have been killed by Noske's army. The Social-Democratic rule is not necessarily peaceful!

INTERNATIONAL NEWS.

NO HOUSES, BUT PLENTY OF FLAGS.

The Mayor of Guise (in the liberated district of France), Carrè, and his colleagues on the Municipal Council, have tendered their resignation to the Prefect as a protest against the delays and incapacity of the Government in dealing with reconstruction (6,000 out of the previous population of 8,000 have returned to Guise), but out of 950 houses, 500 are completely destroyed and 175 uninhabitable; the latter have been repaired with bituminated cardboard and oiled paper, which is not of much use for the winter season. No other material is forthcoming, but the Paris administration, on the eve of the Peace Celebrations on July 14th, had opened a credit for 1,000 francs for the purchase of flags and lanterns. This "huge joke" of the Paris authorities has caused great indignation among these tragic victims of the great war for democracy.

FRENCH EMPLOYERS URGE IMITATION OF GERMANY.

French employers, according to *L'Humanité*, are endeavouring to prevent the application of the eight hour day legislation by asserting that in Germany the workers are giving two hours overtime without pay "for the Fatherland." When M. Lazare Weiller, who has just returned from Germany, was pressed during the debate in the French Chamber on September 17th to state definitely if the two hours overtime without pay was regularly applied in Germany, he had to acknowledge that he had no precise information!

PRESS PERSECUTION.

Noske has suppressed *Die Jugend-Internationale*, and the *Junge Garde*, another Young Socialist periodical, has ceased publication.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The Scandinavian Young Socialist Conference has decided to link up with the Third International. The voting was sixty-three in favour and five against.

FIUME.

The Italian Socialist Party and the Italian Labour Federation have jointly issued an appeal to the people to be on the alert on the question of Fiume and to beware of militarism in any form, even that of D'Annunzio.

"MUTINY" OF AMERICAN MILITARY PRISONERS.

The *New York Call* reports that at Fort Leavenworth Military Prison, Kansas, U.S. soldiers sent home from the Armies of Occupation are serving sentences of five years, for such trivial offences as "loitering," or talking to a German woman." The food in the prison is exceedingly bad, and, on July 22nd, some of the prisoners refused to work by way of protest. As a result the food is no better in quality, and the ration of all prisoners is reduced to a third; "pot shots" have been taken at the prisoners, they have been made to stand naked in the boiling American sun whilst their clothes were searched, and a "reign of terror" is carried on against them.

"IMPERATOR."

The Allied Naval Commission "gave" Britain the German ship *Imperator*. Now America is reported to have refused to hand it over. The *Imperator* is in New York harbour. What is Great Britain going to do about it?

WILSON AGAINST AMENDING THE TREATY.

La Feuille draws the attention of its readers to the following statement by President Wilson:—

"To amend the Treaty is tantamount to wrecking it and thus isolating the United States, *and if a great nation is isolated economically and politically, it is obliged to become an armed nation.*"

By this sentence, comments the editor of *La Feuille*, President Wilson upholds a policy of armament "à outrance." He justifies all the German precautions of 1911 and 1914; and better still, he calls upon the vanquished of to-day to arm themselves in secret to the utmost of their capacity.

WALSH RELEASED.

We are glad to announce that Mr. Walsh, of the Australian Seamen's Union, has been released. He was arrested in August on a charge of inciting to a strike!

• • •

IN MEMORY OF TOLSTOY.

It has been repeatedly alleged in the Press that the Bolsheviki had desecrated the tomb of Tolstoy, the great thinker and writer, and had pillaged his celebrated estate, Iasnaia-Poliana. The recent report that Iasnaia-Poliana has been nationalised by the Soviet Government in memory of the great writer finally dispels these calumnies. The central building, greatly damaged by brigands (the Bolsheviki were accused of this) is to be restored, for which purpose the Commissariat of Art has granted 175,000 roubles.

The Executive Committee of Soviets has invited the members of the Tolstoy family to serve the State; for this service they will be permitted to live in Iasnaia-Poliana and administer the estate for the Government. Further, the Soviet Government has subsidised the publication of Tolstoy's works at popular prices. These publications include many pamphlets prohibited under the Czar's *régime*.

"BOLSHEVIKI A SMALL FRACTION."

Mr. Dukes, the latest British "authority" on Russia, has asserted in his lecture to journalists at the War Office, that the Bolsheviki form only a small fraction, utterly unrepresentative of the people—indeed, hated by it. Mr Dukes quoted Lunacharsky, the People's Commissary for Education, for the statement that the total number of Bolsheviki (or Communists, as they are now called) in Russia did not exceed 250,000 persons, and added that it was this "fractional minority" which was running the country. Mr. Dukes' argument, however, was refuted, in anticipation, long ago by Lenin, who, in October, 1917, that is, a few weeks before the Bolshevik Revolution, in a pamphlet "Will the Bolsheviki be able to retain power?" wrote as follows:—

"130,000 landlords governed Russia after the Revolution of 1905, governed it by means of countless outrages upon a population of 150 millions, of countless insults, and of ruthless condemnation of its overwhelming majority to terrible overwork and chronic semi-starvation. Yet the 240,000 members of the Bolshevik Party would not be able to govern the country in the interests of the poor against the rich? But these 240,000 members are already backed by no fewer than one million votes of the adult population, so that our State machinery would have at its disposal one million persons devoted to Socialist ideals, ready to serve it because of those ideals, and not for the sake of their salaries. But there is something more than this. We have in our possession a magic wand by means of which we could increase the number of men needed tenfold at one blow—a wand which no capitalist State ever possessed or could possess. This is to rope in all who toil, the proletariat, for the daily task of governing the State."

And this is what the Bolsheviki have actually done, and this is what Lunacharsky meant when he spoke (according to Mr. Dukes) of the "compelling power of the Communist doctrine," which permitted the comparatively small party of Bolsheviki to remain in power, in spite of the terrible starvation, unemployment and constant war on all fronts. The Russian Communist State is "run" not by the Bolsheviki, but by the masses of the people themselves, who, through the Soviets, are the real masters and administrators of Russia; and it is because the Bolsheviki is the only party which enjoys their confidence that it is kept in the most important executive offices of the State. Louise Bryant, in her book, "Six Red Months in Russia," confirms this view, as others have done. She remarks that as the Russian people overthrew the Kerensky *régime*, they could also overthrow the Bolshevik, if they chose. Mr. Dukes will have to look nearer home to find a condition of affairs, in which "fractional minorities"—capitalist oligarchies, in fact—run the State.

[From The People's Russian Information Bureau.]

Threepence— THE PLEBS —Monthly

for OCTOBER contains

"Re'orm and Revolution" by J. T. Murphy. "Macdonald and Ourselves" by Mark Starr. "Give them El (Dorado)" by Winifred Horrabin. And other articles, reviews, etc. From all Labour bookstalls, or postpaid 3½d. from 11a, Penywern Road, Earls Court, S.W.5.

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. Motler.

MURDER A LA CARTE.

When I come back home from my particular portion of the Daily Grind, I have a peculiar restful feeling. And my evening edition of the Bellow Press is so much of a lullaby, I could almost set it to music.

This particular evening's ebullition from the barrel organ in Bouverie Street, where the seven o'clock "Star" appears on the horizon at half after five is this:—

"Ten Marks per Murder. Criminal fails to execute order for two. An attempt to murder a civilian led to the arrest of a dangerous criminal, who, when brought up for examination, confessed that he had been engaged by the Communist Commitee in order to murde two persons, exactly indicated, in return for twenty marks. Owing to the fact that he had been unable to execute the full order, he roamed the streets and was apprehended."

There is a genuine, fool-proof look about this particular tit-bit, although it omits details. So far the gentleman who sends people down below or up there (according to the score against their names) for ten marks is not named. Neither are his victims.

It must be admitted that the above is prefaced by the remark that "the police at Halle have discoverd the existence of an extensive Communist organisation." That is something to be going on with, but I should not say it reflects any great glory on the Halle police, Henry. Our own police sometimes have a similar fit. Then they discover that there is such a paper as the DREADNOUGHT, and such a person as Sylvia Pankhust. They also further discover that she gets a cool six thousand from Bela Kun, per intermediary of a person named Zachariassen.

These discoveries are only equalled in glory by the peculiar promptitude with which the police usher the said Zach out of the country so that he could not bear witness against .... Sylvia Pankhurst.

But to return to our sheep and the butcher.

One feels that the accommodating murderer does not belong to a trade union because twenty marks, in these days, is a trifling sum. In English money a mark is now valued at about sixpence, so that each murder would only cost the Communist Exchequer the tiny sum of five bob and fivepence! I do not think you will find any blacklegs this side of the North Sea who would do it so cheaply.

When dangerous criminals go in for murder at five and fivepence the murder trade is decidedly slack. But compared with some other incidents I have in mind, it would certainly seem that the market is improving. Whilst our gallant lads only got a shilling a day for letting daylight into an uncertain number of Germans, our police get three pounds ten a week for breaking heads.

I have no details by me which would help me to calculate how much the boys in blue get per assassination, but America is just starting the business. Yesterday's "Star" glowed in the firmament to the following effect;

> "Bloodshed in America. Ten persons shot in strike riots. Many arrested. Steel kings determined to stand firm."

It must not be supposed that the arrests were made amongst those who did the shooting. I have never yet heard of anyone in uniform being arrested for accidentally letting off some sort of pop gun. On the contrary, they either get a bonus or a medal.

Still you must remember these people who get shot are wicked enough to go on strike. They are mere workers. They are probably Communists, if not Bolsheviks. Although they pretend pacifist aims and the pop-guns are never found on them, unless put there by the police beforehand, they ought to know better. The fact that weapons are never found amongst the working classes only shows their great cunning. If a weapon is indeed found on one of them, it proves that the local Communist Committee hired them to do in the police or even harmless capitalists at so much a head — probably five and fivepence.

The capitalists are wonderfully kind hearted, Henry. Although the workers will go on strike and attack the police (which makes them shoot) the capitalist is always willing to let bygones be bygones. He spends a great deal of cash in Welfare Work. At least the Steal—pardon, Steel Trust does. But it is not always appreciated in its efforts, Henry. The world has too many, far too many doubting Communists of various brands. And even capitalist papers sometimes let the truth slip out unawares. Let the "Star" scintillate still further to-night:

> "An examination showed that this (Welfare Work) included bonuses distributed to speed up work, but also large sums which it had to pay to the widows of the men killed in its works... As these pensions amounted in 1912 to £400,000 a year, they indicate the terrible slaughter of human life which goes on in the Steel Trust mills, owing to the outrageously long hours, the absence of protective safeguards, the continuous driving to increase output, and the employment of raw aliens who do not understand each other's language."

Now let us suppose that the "compensation" for each life lost in the Steel Trust Mills is £200, that works out at about two thousand casualties per annum, or six a day. But the working class must expect to risk their lives for the enourmous wages they get, since the kind hearted capitalist risks his capital.

Whilst his workers on strike were being shot and starved in Pittsburg, Andrew Carnegie, the Lover of Peace and Distributor of Free Libraries, was taking the air in Skibo Castle, Scotland, three thousand miles away. Such are the wages of Brains and Ability.

HOW MARTENS WORKS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA.

Comrade L. Martens, Soviet Russia's representative in the United States, is endeavouring to secure in America skilled engineers, mechanics, accountants, agriculturalists, chemists, physicians, surgeons, dentists, and other trained persons willing to go out to assist in the development of Soviet Russia. The past economic conditions provided few opportunities for such training, but large numbers of Russians have emigrated to other countries, where training centres abound, and it is to the Russians in America that the appeal of Comrade Martens is specially addressed.

He explains that the Soviet Bureau of U.S.A. "is undertaking to enrol and organise all those Russians who are willing to work for the welfare and progress of Soviet Russia. All such Russians will be provided with means and opportunities to acquire in the shortest possible time, through specialised and intensive training, the necessary knowledge, experience, and proficiency to qualify them for the work in which they desire to engage."

Applicants for work in Russia are asked to give particulars as to their present occupations and acquirements, to state where they were trained, what languages they know, what special courses of study they could pursue to best advantage in an American college before going to Russia, and whether they require assistance in taking such courses; what work they would prefer to do in Russia, whether they require their travelling expenses paid, what family they have, what organisations they belong to.

In July a conference of representatives of organisations and experts was held in New York to discuss the following questions:—

"The ascertaining of the general number of emigrants who are ready to offer their technical abilities to Soviet Russia.

"The ascertaining of the number of such persons along the lines of specialisation on dirt-roads, on agronomy, agricultural construction, on reinforced concrete and the like.

"Which organisations are occupied here with the preparing of such specialists.

"The elaboration of a programme for their preparation along lines of specialisation.

"The creation of centres for the unification of this work.

"Whether there is necessary for their preparation and transportation to Russia any assistance of the Soviet Government and to what extent."

Universities and professional and technical colleges have been circularised with a view to having Russian students trained by them. The response from these institutions has been on the whole remarkably cordial, and many institutions have even gone so far as to accept reduced fees for Soviet students.

The students preparing for work in Soviet Russia are naturally keenly antagonistic to the Capitalist intervention.

RESOLUTION CONCERNING THE ATTRACTION OF WOMEN WORKERS INTO THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.

ADOPTED BY THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, MAY 2ND-6TH, 1919.

The Congress of the Communist International lays down that the solution of all the problems now before it, as well as the final victory of the world proletariat and the complete abolition of capitalist society, can be guaranteed only by the close co-operation in the struggle of all male and female workers. The gigantic increase in the utilisation of female labour in all departments of economic life is an accomplished fact, and not less than half of the total wealth of the world is the product of women's toil. On the other hand, the importance of the part which proletarian women play in the building of the new communist social order is beyond question, especially during the transition to communism in the economic sphere during the reform of family life, and during the realisation of the social education of children, with the problems it creates —the development of their labour-power, their upbringing as citizens of the Soviet Republic, inspired with a feeling of solidarity. All this places before the parties adhering to the Third International the necessity of grappling with a most important problem: to concentrate all its forces and energies in order to attract proletarian women with the party, and to utilise all possible means of educating the women workers in a spirit corresponding to the new social order and to communist ethics in their social and family life.

The dictatorship of the proletariat can grow stronger and become victorious only with the energetic and active co-operation of the women workers.

NEWS FROM GREECE.

COERCION AND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

Ergaticos Agon reports that all the members of the tramway and electrical workers' organisation committee are to be court-martialled on account of the strike to obtain an 8-hour working day and to protest against the high cost of living.

The authorities declare that the strikers being under mobilisation order had no right to down tools.

Many Labour and Socialist organisers and propagandists have been deported from Cavella and Athens.

Naval men are being sent to practise at the electrical stations in order that they may be able to act as efficient blacklegs in case of a strike.

The Annual Congress of the Socialist Labour Party (the official Labour Party of Greece) has been postponed from September 27th—30th to October 27th—31st owing to the persecution of many of its prominent members, the ban put on the meetings of the local Socialist and Labour organisations and other difficulties put forward by the Liberal Government of Venezelos.

The Socialist Labour Party has nevertheless acquired its own press and 10,000 drachmes, half the money required, has been collected for making *Ergaticos Agon* a daily, instead of a weekly organ.

—EVERYONE SHOULD READ—

Facts about Communist Hungary,

By ALICE RIGGS HUNT.

— PRICE 3d. —

From "The Workers' Socialist Federation, 400, Old Ford, Road, E. 3.

NOWHERE TO LIVE.

THE HOUSING QUESTION.

The Liverpool Corporation is going to build 14,000 to 15,000 houses for the workers. Each house will cost £1 a week more than it can possibly bring in rent. Why? Because ground rents are paid to idle landlords and because of profiteering in the building trade.

The City of London has also decided to build houses for its workers. It cannot build within its boundaries, where land has been sold for as much as £50 a superficial foot; it will therefore build 2,000 houses out at Epping and some flats in Tabard Street, Southwark, and Old Kent Road.

1250 of the Epping houses, containing some five, others six rooms, will be let at 15s. a week; 625 houses, containing 4 rooms, will be rented at 12s. a week; and 125 houses, containing 3 rooms will be let at 10s. a week. The rents are distinctly high therefore, and the cost of travelling to and from Epping must be taken into account.

The scheme will cost £2,013,565; the annual expenditure and and revenue will work out as follows:—

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE.

Interest on £2,013,565 at 5½%	£110,746
Contribution to sinking fund	10,067
	£120,813

ANNUAL REVENUE.

Rentals, less 40% deducted for rates, repairs, etc.	£ 42,900
Deficit	£73 046

A penny rate (the most that a municipality may legally impose for this purpose) amounts to £23,500, leaving £49,546 to be borne by the Exchequer.

These figures mean that neither in Liverpool, nor in London, nor anywhere in this country, will private enterprise any longer build houses in which working people can afford to live. Ground rents, building contractors' charges, and interest on borrowed money are now too high to allow of houses, however small, however jerry-built to be let at a rent which the workers can pay. Therefore the workers now must allow themselves to be taxed, in order that the Government may subsidise the ground landlord and the building contractor.

The housing problem alone should be enough to sound the death-knell of the capitalist system; and what course is open to men and women but to arouse themselves and demand the socialisation of housing? That will not be fully acheived without the entire overthrow of Capitalism and the introduction of Communism, therefore unite to secure Communism.

The chairman of the Wealdstone municipal Council says that the Council ought to have the power to commandeer rooms; he knows of a 14-roomed house occupied by a man a woman and a servant. This is precisely what has been done in Soviet Russia and was done by the Hungarian Soviets during their brief life.

"PROFITEERS SEE THE RED LIGHT."

WE DON'T think!

The 'Daily Herald" says that prices are coming down because of the sham Profiteering Act. Let the "Herald" tell that to the Marines—but not if they are on shore!

The price of fruit, says the "Herald," has fallen. The price of fruit always falls for a time in the height of the fruit season. "A month or so back," says the "Herald" "a lady's tailor-made suit could not be bought at a first-class shop under seven or eight guineas. They were being shown for four or five guineas yesterday—and very nice suits they were too!"

The ladies in Park Lane would not think those suits fit to wear, but the majority of British mothers cannot afford to buy them; indeed they are wondering whether they will ever be able to buy any more suits of any kind even second-hand—to say nothing of the guinea scarves and the "Nappa gloves" at 5s. 11d. the "Herald" mentions.

"The Profiteering Act has only been in force four weeks, but already the housewife has found her task considerably lightened," says the 'Herald,' but with that story no housewife will agree.

Working women, you joined in co-operation with every woman in thestreet for Peace Parties to the children: **why do you not form your street Committees now, to deal with this question of food prices which will never be settled until the workers take control?**

How long are you going to tolerate the system which allows some people to buy as many pears at 6d., 8d., or 10d. each as they want, whilst you buy damaged little fruit for your children: which allows some women to pay tens of guineas for their clothes, whilst you buy threadbare second hand garments or go without any change?

IRON AND STEEL WORKERS' STRIKE.

As we write 50,000 Iron and Steel workers are striking for a 15s. a week increase for journeyman and 7s. and 6d. for apprentices over 16 years together with piece work advances. The Minister of Labour, forced the workers' representatives to spend £100 on coming to London, forced them to hear him say that he would do nothing for them. Do not be so foolish as to blame the Minister of Labour; the Cabinet as a whole is responsible for his acts, and the Cabinet is but the executive Committee of the employing classes.

During the war, Governments were inclined to make concessions to the workers, but now, they are lined up rigidly against them. President Wilson's brutal retort to the workers: "Exist as you can on your present ways till the cost of living goes down," is typical of the rest.

It is tragic, indeed, to find the workers still dissipating their energies in attempts to wring a few shillings a week more from reluctant employers; still prepared to engage in a sectional strike for a trifle instead of uniting in the great general strike for economic control.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum.
Write to the Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone—East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

FRIDAY, OCT. 3rd.
Tower Hill—12 (noon) Melvina Walker.

SATURDAY, OCT. 4th.
Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in Kennington and Camberwell.
Meetings at Triangle, opposite Oval Tube Station C.S.L.R., 3 p.m., Grove Lane, Camberwell, 7 p.m
Speakers: Minnie Birch, 3 p.m.; Melvina Walker, 3 and 7 p.m.; Henry Sara, 3 and 7 p.m.; Ph. Edmunds, 7 p.m.

SUNDAY, OCT. 5th.
Osborn Street, 11.45 a.m.—Melvina Walker.
Dock Gates, 7.30 p.m.—Henry Sara. Chair: Melvina Walker.

FRIDAY, OCT. 10th.
The Square, Woolwich, 12 noon.—Melvina Walker.

SATURDAY OCT. 11th.
Great Push in the Holloway District.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, SEPT. 6th.
20 Railway St., 7.30 p.m.—Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m.—Reading Circle.

FRIDAY, OCT. 10th.
400, Old Ford Road, 7-10 p.m.—Dancing.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 15th.
20, Railway Street—8 p.m., General Members' Meeting, London Section.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

SUNDAY, OCT. 5th.
Victoria Park 12 noon—Walter Ponder and others.

TUESDAY, OCT. 7th.
Queen's Road (corner of Dalston Lane, 7.30p.m.—Walter Ponder and others.

THURSDAY, OCT. 9th.
400, Old Ford Road, 7.30 p.m.—Business Meeting.
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

TUESDAY, OCT. 7th.
William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m.—Ph. Edmunds. "Teachings of Karl Marx."
EAST HAM LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
The Old Public Offices, Wakefield Road, 8 p.m.—Edward Fuller, "An Awkward Question," a talk to parents on sex.

W. S. F. NOTES.

A huge meeting was held at the Dock Gates on Sunday, September 28th, when Tom Mann, David Ramsay, Melvina Walker and W. Straker spoke on the economic and industrial situation. A collection of £2. 0. 5. was taken.

* * * *

A campaign of meetings will be held in London from October 11th to 27th by Charles B. Roberts, a socialist who worked here before the war.

Since then he has been working with Mr. Martens, the Bolshevik representative in the United States, and will speak on the Russian question. Offers of literature sellers and chairmen for dinner-hour and evening meetings and financial help towards the expenses should be sent to Miss Smyth, 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

* * * *

Any members who have not yet sent in their voting papers should do so at once.

In aid of General and "Dreadnought" Fund.

A GRAND

CONCERT & DANCE

WILL TAKE PLACE AT
400, Old Ford Road, E. 3.

On Sunday, October 12, 1919.

Doors open at 7 p.m.
Admission (including Tax), **1s. 3d.**
Lively Programme. "Daily Herald" League Band in attendance.
For Tickets, apply S. R. YOUNG, 69, Salmon Lane, E. 14.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements: One penny per word
Displayed advertisements: 7s. 6d. per inch.
Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

DOMESTIC help wanted for work of 6-roomed house 3 in fam. Vegetarian preferred; as family: £24—Mrs. T., 16, Osmond Gdns, Wallington, Surrey.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster

Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to work and old enough to vote? (Advert.)

READ
"THE RED DAWN," a Monthly Magazine for Young Workers. Monthly, TWOPENCE.

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